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764 769 year. Since during that period there had been an epidemic, and many people had died, many gifts were sent. This was the first burning after the epidemic was over, and every family made use of this opportunity of communicating with the country of the dead, and of sending something to a deceased relative. Every present was wrapped up separately in a piece of bright printed calico or red cloth, and charmed by the conjuror, who in her incantations enumerated for whom each gift was intended. The following articles were among the presents: sugar, tea, tobacco, larch-gum, beads (large and small), bread and biscuit that I had given them at their request, and reindeer meat and fat. Two agaric fungi were sent to one old man who had been very fond of agaric intoxication. No clothing was among the presents, and no fish or seal-meat, or anything connected with hunting at sea or with fishing in the river Apparently the Koryak, like the Eskimo, believe that everything relating to the dead must be kept away from the sea-mammals. After the presents had been given, the women went away, and the men started a fire a little aside from the wood-pile, and with it lighted the pyre in several places. The first fire-brand was placed by the official chief of the settlement (see Plate XIII, Fig. 1).

764 When the clothes were burned, and the child's head appeared, her grandfather took a pole, and, thrusting it into the body, said, "Of yonder magpie pricked" (A'ñaļan vakı'tha tı'npınen); or, in a free translation, "This is the magpie of the underworld, which pricked." He imitated the actions of the magpie of the world of the dead, in order to inform the deceased that she was passing to another world, and must not return to the house. The further actions of the dead girl's grandfather had the same end in view. When the flames of the pyre were dying away, he broke some twigs from the alder and willow bushes that were growing near by, and strewed them around the pyre. These twigs represented a dense forest which was supposed to surround the burning-place. We left the place while the pyre was still burning. Before leaving, the grandfather went around the pyre, first from right to left, and then from left to right, in order to so obscure his tracks that the deceased would not be able to follow him. Then, stepping away from the pyre toward the houses, he drew with his stick a line on the snow, jumped across it, and shook himself. The others followed his example. The line was supposed to represent a river which separated the village from the burning-place.

775 776 All these actions are identical with episodes in the tales of the "magic flight." After being taken out of the house, the deceased is apparently regarded as a spirit hostile to the living.

The question why and how dead persons become dangerous to those to whom they were near and dear in life, is one of the most difficult ones in ethnology. Fear of the dead is known among all peoples. I did not hear among the Koryak any tales of a direct transformation of a dead person into an evil spirit or kala; but the Chukchee have such tales, and they may also

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775 171 be found among both North American and Siberian tribes, and in many other parts of the world. The Tupilaq[1] of the Eskimo, and the ghosts of the Indians, are equally pernicious to men. The Yakut,[2] Buryat,[3] Altaians,[4] and Mongol[5] hold similar ideas. They believe that souls of certain dead ones turn into evil spirits, which are particularly dangerous to the relatives of the deceased. Such souls are called yör by the Yakut, dakhu'l by the Buryat, usyu't by the Altaians, and evil oñon by the Mongol.

764 The Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Ridge dissect bodies before burning them, in order to find out what ailed them. Apparently this custom was in vogue among other Koryak as well. The Chukchee proceed in the same manner. The usage prevailing in some places, — for instance, among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula and the Maritime Koryak of Penshina Bay, — of piercing the abdomen of the corpse with a knife when it is lying on the pyre, and of stuffing the wound with some rags, in cases where death was caused by some internal disease, is to be regarded as a survival of this custom. According to the explanation of the Koryak, this is done for the purpose of guarding the child, which later on receives the soul and the name of the deceased, against the disease of which the departed died.

Immediately after the body has been taken out of the house, the bedding of the deceased is removed, and the place of the dead one is taken by some other inhabitant of the house. For ten days his place in the house must never remain empty, that the kalau may believe they were not successful in their "hunt" among the inmates of the house. The person who occupies the place of the deceased is called by the name of the family guardians, Ine'njula'n. If he leaves the house, somebody else takes his place. In some villages a bundle of grass which has been formed into the shape of a human body, and represents Ine'njula'n, is put in the place of the deceased.

765 Ten days after a death, the Maritime Koryak beat the drum, thus expressing their grief for the deceased. The Reindeer Koryak beat the drum immediately after the funeral. I was told in Kamenskoye that all the inmates of the house where a death occurred, and brothers of the deceased, although living in other houses, wear for ten days after the burning charm bracelets or necklaces braided of sinew-thread and hare's hair as guardians against the spirit of the dead.

● 769 Annual obits for the dead are still observed by the Reindeer Koryak of the Palpal Mountains. They consist in the slaughtering of reindeer in honor of the dead, and the piling-up of the antlers on their "graves;" that is, on the burning-places of their relatives. The antlers represent the reindeer-herds

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[1] Boas, Central Eskimo, p. 591; and Baffin-Land Eskimo, p. 131.
[2] Troshchansky, pp. 82-87; Sieroszewsky, p. 622; Jochelson, Wandering Tribes, p. 34.
[3] Agapitoff and Khangaloff, p. 24. [4] Potanin, IV, p. 130.
[5] Mikhailovsky, Shamanism, p. 17.

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769 which are sent to the dead in the next world. At present the Reindeer Koryak of Taigonos content themselves, on the whole, with sending presents to the next world by those who have died recently, as is done by the Maritime Koryak. I have not observed any other manifestations of an ancestral cult among the Koryak. There are indications that other forms of disposing of the dead once existed. Two small rough wooden carvings representing female figures (Fig. 56) — one with a child on her back, and the other one with two children (one on her back, and the other at her breast) — were obtained by Mr. Bogoras of two Koryak women from Alutor, who laughed, when giving them away to him, as one would laugh at a thing which has lost all its sacredness. According to the statement of these women, however, the figures represent

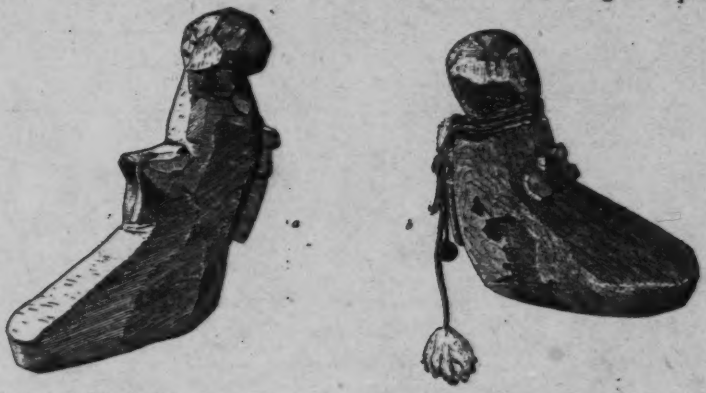

Fig. 56, *a* ($\frac{11}{21121}$), *b* ($\frac{11}{21121}$). Wooden Figures representing Female Ancestors. Length, 20.5 cm., 20 cm.

their female ancestor, who was buried, or, to be more exact, who was left dead in her house, together with her child. That such a form of disposing of the dead was in existence in olden times, may also be observed from the myths [1] and from one tradition about Big-Raven (Quikinn·a'qu), according to which he requested his children to leave him alone in his house after his death.

[1] Tale 65.

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with all of them, and shares his bed, now with one, and then with another. The sense of shame forbids a woman to be present at the acts of the intimate life of her sister. What, then, is the origin of this, which I should call "two-sided Koryak levirate"?

McLennan[1] and his followers consider the custom of levirate among other tribes as a survival of polyandry. Westermarck[2] demolishes this view with great conclusiveness. But if we admit that McLennan is right, whatever he says applies to the one-sided levirate usually spoken of by the ethnologists and sociologists; i. e., when the younger brother marries the elder brother's widow. But, of course, nobody considers the marriage of a widower with the younger sister of his deceased wife a survival of polyandry.

Lubbock's and Spencer's explanation of levirate is, that woman is viewed as a property which the brother-in-law inherits along with other possessions. Possibly the explanation may apply to the levirate custom of some tribes; but in cases where the widower takes the younger sister of his deceased wife, there can be no question of proprietary title to her; also in the passing of the widow to her deceased husband's younger brother, the family right does not always coincide with the right of property, as it appears from the Koryak order of inheritance. Besides, according to the customs of the Koryak, the elder brother, although he receives part of the inheritance left by his younger brother, cannot marry his widow.

The view that levirate is connected with the cult of ancestors — such as prevailed among the ancient Hindoos and Hebrews, through the necessity of having an heir in the interests of salvation and bliss in heaven — does not apply to the Koryak levirate either, not only because it is two-sided, but also because among the Koryak any widow of the elder brother, and not alone one without any offspring, or without male offspring, passes over to the younger brother.

Nevertheless I do think that Koryak levirate, though from another point of view, is connected with the cult of ancestors, or rather with the cult of the family hearth. I have pointed out before[3] that each Koryak family has its guardians and its incantations. The family hearth, the chief family guardian, is averse to admitting strangers. Since primitive man views every stranger as a possible foe, the family guardians are inimically disposed toward every stranger, and are ready to guard the family against the evil eye, word, and other magic acts of strangers. Access to the family hearth is had with difficulty only. Besides, the family hearth is connected with the deceased relatives whose souls return in new-born children. Marriages between two

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[1] See J. J. McLennan, The Levirate and Polyandry (The Fortnightly Review, London, 1877, Vol. XXI, pp. 694—707).

[2] See E. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, London, 1901, p. 510.

[3] See Part I, pp. 46, 59.

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769 587 families give free access to the hearth, not only to the members of strange families, but also to the souls of their deceased members. The soul of a deceased relative, both on the father's and on the mother's side, may enter the new-born child: and each child borne by the daughter-in-law or engendered by the son-in-law may become the possessor of the soul of a deceased relative, of a strange family. Thus a marriage contracted between two families brings nearer not only the living, but also the souls of the dead members, and the guardians of both families. The Koryak like to strengthen the union by new marriages. Thus the brother of a married woman will court her husband's sister, if there be such. These are favorite unions. We meet such cases, not only in every-day life, but also in myths.[1] In my opinion, the Koryak levirate has for its object the maintenance of the union between two families: a widower marries the sister or relative of his deceased wife, and a widow is married to the relative of her deceased husband, in order to maintain the family union which has been interrupted by death.

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621 582 As marriage, with the exception of the above-mentioned degrees of kinship, may be contracted between parties of the same village or family even, — for instance, any second-cousins, — it happens very rarely that the match-maker or bridegroom goes to a remote village or nomad camp in search of a bride. Most frequently marriages are contracted between inhabitants of neighboring villages. On the Palpal I once met an elderly Koryak from the village Mikino driving to the Opuka River, and asked him why he was going there. He replied that he was going to get some relative of his deceased wife to marry him. "Can't you find a wife for yourself anywhere nearer?" I asked. "I can," he replied; "but the union between my family and the family of my children's mother must not be interrupted. Besides, the relatives of my deceased wife know me and won't make me serve for a bride."

587 182 As I look at it, the Koryak levirate is an institution having for its object the continuation of the union between families related by affinity. This union is necessary in order that the spirits of the ancestors, the hearth and other family guardians, of the two families entering into relationship, may abide in peace and unity. In former times, when separate groups of a tribe waged war with one another on the slightest occasion, families united by marriage formed defensive and offensive alliances. Often the marrying-off of a girl into a family with which there had been war, made peace between the spirits of the deceased of both families, and put an end to blood-vengeance.

582 587 In certain cases, an extensive league of families may be formed through intermarriage. If there are several sons in one family, and several daughters in another, these two families cannot confine themselves to intermarrying with each other, for brothers of one family cannot marry sisters of another. Some

[1] See Part I, pp. 149, 157, 164, 226, 230, 252, 254, 257, 267, 305, 308.